

**Текст к докладу: новый подход.** Друг < пчела в литовском.

Dear friends and colleagues!

My name is Anna Smirnitskaya, I work in the institute of Oriental studies in Moscow.

The title of my presentation is "From kinship terms to emotive interjections: the typology of one semantic shift in Dravidian and Indo-European languages.\*".

I will tell you about semantic typology. About the theory of semantic shifts – one of the modern and fast-growing directions in linguistics.

**What is it, a semantic shift?** Words of languages that we use, seem to be stable and unchangeable. A child learn some word, for example "window", and it is window today, it was window yesterday, and it will be window tomorrow. Nothing changes, nothing interesting. Of course, we can look at the etymology dictionary. And we find that this word is derived from a source – wind.

If we look deeper into the greater time depths, and use other etymological sources, we'll find that Old English "window" is borrowed from ... vindaug.. (..)

We can trace the development here. That is something more interesting, we observe the semantic shift **wind - window**.

Sometimes the change is fast and visible during even several years. For example, a verb "to google".

**To google / гуглить** .... rooted in the noun "google" is just this new. When someone asks you about some difficult question, and you don't want to think about it yourselves, you may say: "Just google it!"

The meaning is: "To use an online search engine as the basis for looking up information on the Internet."

Examples:

I recently googled my 7th grade teacher and found his current e-mail address  
I was intrigued by Dan's comment, so I **googled** him, and had a look at some of the things he's written.

His name is DJ Reeve, but I **googled** him and all I get are scientists and some Swiss kid, so, that's not him.

And you know, that the word "google" was invented in 1997 by students, it is a distorted word "googol" that means @ the large number  $10^{100}$ . / **ten thousand sexdecillion**/ @  $10^{100}$ -й степени. (!!! Как читать - **ten to the power of 1 hundred**.).

This word was also invented in 1920 by a nine-year-old nephew, Milton Sirota, of famous mathematician, Edward Kasner's.

Widespread sounding of the word occurs through the name of the company Google, with the name "Google" being an accidental misspelling of "googol" by the company's founders,<sup>[6]</sup> which was picked to signify that the search engine was intended to provide large quantities of information

**Umbrella**

## Shield, брандмауэр (...)

Etymological theory defines neologisms as words which already exist in a language but developed a new meaning over the recent years:

e.g. umbrella 1) 'device used as protection against rain'; 2) 'a protecting force or influence' (Cook, 2010; Rets, 2014)

The word "umbrella" evolved from the Latin *umbra*, meaning shadow.

(as a synonym for "shield").

These changes are visible, because they are fast.

## 7 min

>>>>>>Can anyone of you remember some example also?

Time passes, and words change. The changes impact the form of words, and their meanings also. The meaning changes from one stage to another, from one meaning to another.

I will show you a scheme of the development of meaning by Peter Koch.

		TIME	FORM	MEANING
Change 1	T1	F1	M1	
	T2	F2	M1 (M2)	
	T3	F3	M1 > M2	
	T4	F4	M1 = M2	
Change 2	T5	F5	M2 > M1	
	T6	F6	M2 (M1)	
	T7	F7	M2	

(look at the scheme here.) There was a meaning M1 with the form F1 in the time moment T1. While time passes, it gets new meaning M2 (new meaning M2 evolves), along with the new form F2. After that some changes happen, and the form changes, and the meaning changes also. (You can see, that the changes of form are not synchronous/ with the changes of meaning).

1. Есть только значение M1.
2. Образование нового значения M2, наряду с M1;
3. Сосуществование двух значений у одной единицы (**Полисемия**);
4. Вытеснение новым значением старого: M2 преобладает.

CLat. *bustum* 'place for burning corpses' → 'tomb' → VulgLat. *\*bustum* 'sculpture of the deceased on a tomb' → 'sculpture of the upper body of the deceased on a tomb' → It. *busto* 'sculpture of the upper body' → 'human upper body'

Then the first meaning can degrade, and only M2 remains/ persists. Or possibly the M1 wins the battle, and it remains, and the M2 *degrades* and is lost in years.

But variants are possible. The new meaning can stay on the periphery of the system, and M1 wins the battle:

- (a) Fr. *rentrer* 'to re-enter'
- (b) Fr. (colloquial) *rentrer* 'to enter' - известно с XVII, по [Koch, 2001].

Here we can see the stage of **polysemy** – when both meanings co-exist together. It is very important fact – that each meaning change has a polysemy as one of its stages.

(Just remember it!).

I will tell you the words of one Russian linguist of last century, Professor Виктор Владимирович Виноградов) Виноградов, in my translation from Russian (перевести).

In the synchronic identity of the word there is **an echo of its previous changes** and **hints of future development**. That means, **synchronic and diachronic are just different sides** of one and the same historical process ... The correlation of meanings in the modern (nowadays) usage of a word, their hierarchy, their phraseological contexts and their evaluation always **enclose/ comprises / has inside / the diachronic traces** of past epochs.

What meanings can be connected through historical development?

**10 min**

Is it possible to imagine semantic change from “a window” to “a dog”, for example? I think not.

Though they have something in common: they have 4 legs. Or if we imagine in some faraway country, where dogs , and they say: “Come to me, my dear chair” and feed “the chair”. – it seems quite unbelievable, that language fixes this usage *in the real* change of lexical meaning.

Or is it possible to connect the ideas of “**a chair**” and “**a wind**”?

I think not. It would be a difficult task to connect these ideas somehow.

(But I should add, that the semantic shift **wind -> window** exist, and it is already described in our Database, we talked about it before).

What meanings can be connected through historical development? It’s one of important questions of lexical typology, among others [from Koptjevskaya 2008, 2016]:

What meanings can and cannot be expressed by a **single word** in different languages?

What cross-linguistic patterns are there in **lexicon-grammar interaction**?

**What different meanings can be expressed by one and the same lexeme, by lexemes within one and the same synchronic word (derivational) family or by lexemes historically derived from each other? (This is exactly the question of semantic change).**

**To what extent the nature of cross-linguistically recurrent semantic shifts and motivational scenarios is universal or restricted? [Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008: 5; 2016: 4, 10]**

**There should be some connection between these ideas. Cognitive proximity, as we will say.**

Thus we come to the notion “semantic shift”: a change from one meaning to another in the development of a language.

**Semantic shift** – is a notion “on the crossroad of semantic, lexical and grammatical typologies” [Zalizniak 18: 781].

Let us list these three.

If we are interested to look into the past centuries, to look into the etymological dictionaries,

then we step into the field of investigation of historical linguistics. (1)

Form changes are accompanied by meaning changes here.

(на слайде)

Semantic shift notion goes here along with the notion of semantic parallel. The researcher uses semantic parallel as a tool for additional verification for his assumption. Thus the specialist in Old Irish Tatiana Mikhailova uses parallels in reconstruction of meanings of the lexeme "aithech" in Old Irish. She discusses the possibility of the change **aithech-1 'peasant' → aithech tige 'husband, master of the house'**, and The semantic change in Old Norse semantic shift from *bóndi* 'free landowner, peasant, landlord and livestock owner; bond; husband' → *hūsbōndi* 'husband as master of the house' → Scandinavian borrowing in Old English *hūs-bonda* 'husband as master of the house' → modern English husband with its modern meaning 'husband'.

If we are interested only in synchronous dimension of lexical semantics, and we work with one and the only one language, then we step into the area of lexicology. (2)

Here the same phenomenon is called "motivation". We say: a lexeme "is motivated" by another one, if there is a connection of meanings among these lexemes, and we can definitely trace the direction of change.

**Examples: (1) ahead of 'in front of' < head**

(2) the meaning B is represented by a morphological derivative from the word which has meaning A., e.g. Rus. *sluшат'* — *sluшат'sya* (SSh 'to listen' → 'to obey'), *prostit'* — *prostit'sya* (SSh 'to forgive' → 'to say goodbye'), Lat. *capitulum* 'chapter' from *caput* 'head' (SSh 'head' → 'chapter');

The word's meaning is "motivated" by another meaning. Mainly represented by a morphological derivative:

Sp. *ventana* from *viento* (SSh 'wind' → 'window'),

Rus. *okno* from *oko* (SSh 'eye' → 'window'), *ust'e* from *usta* (SSh 'mouth' → 'mouth of a river'); a

Germ. *anrufen* from *rufen* (SSh 'to call < smb.>' → 'to give a telephone call'), It. *zucchini* from *zucca* ('pumpkin' → 'vegetable marrow');

Rus. *sluшат'* — *sluшат'sya* (SSh 'to listen' → 'to obey'), *prostit'* — *prostit'sya* (SSh 'to forgive' → 'to say goodbye'), Lat. *capitulum* 'chapter' from *caput* 'head' (SSh 'head' → 'chapter')

(cf. Tolstaya 2002, 2008; Koch, Marzo 2007, Marzo 2009)

If you are interested in what you can find investigating different languages of different countries, then you **step into the third (3) area – into the field of semantic (or lexical) typology.**

The semantic typology approach is concerned with cross-linguistic dimension of the same problem.

**Typology:** "the study of linguistic patterns that are found cross-linguistically, in particular, patterns that can be discovered solely by cross-linguistic comparison" [Croft 1990].

**Lexical typology** is concerned with "characteristic ways in which language ... packages semantic material into words" [Lehrer 1992: 249]

Lexical typology is cross-linguistic **dimension of lexicology.** [Kopt. 2008-5]

(definitions of Sem typ)

I work in the semantic typology project, under the guidance of Prof. Anna A. Zalizniak in Moscow. We work on the Catalogue of semantic shifts in languages of the world.

In our definition -

**Semantic shift** – is a variation of meaning that occurs, **synchronically or diachronically**, within one and the same word “in a broader sense” [Zalizniak 2013], that is, the relation between two different meanings of a **polysemous word** or the relation between two meanings of a word in the course of **semantic evolution**, or between the meanings of the **cognate** words going back to one and the same root. [Maria Bulakh]

(scheme of the SSh)

Depending on the nature of the relationship between linguistic units having the meanings A and B in a given language, we distinguish the **following types of realizations** of a semantic shift. [This is very important, because it is what making our project different from others.]

(примеры со слайда читаю)

We can establish the new semantic shift if there are two realisations of it in different languages, or two realisations of different type in one language.

The material for the description of the semantic shifts is collected from different sources: dictionaries, grammars, theoretical papers, during field work. The specifics of our work is that we do everything manually and with joint discussion of the group – to assure the interpretation of semantics.

Here is the first page of our database.

The work is in progress, so sometimes we consider new semantic shift, when only one realization is found. This means that we are looking for the other realization to approve this shift, and these shifts **are marked** New / Suspended.

**The formal description of the semantic shift contains the following fields:**

- 1) identification number;
- 2) the name of semantic shift: meaning (A) - meaning (B);
- 3) direction of the semantic shift:  $\rightarrow$ ,  $\leftarrow$ ,  $\leftrightarrow$ ;
- 4) comments to the semantic shift;
- 5) contributor's name;
- 6) the status of the shift (accepted, new, suspended, single);
- 7) related shifts.

Here is the list of realizations of the shift (to grasp -> to understand)

**47 realizations**

/Посмотреть какие иллюстрируют что./

A **realization** of a given semantic shift can be:

- one word of one language which has both meanings A and B ( $W1 = W2$ ,  $L1 = L2$ );
- two cognate words  $W1$  and  $W2$  of one and the same language ( $L1=L2$ )

- two cognate words from two genetically related languages: W1 from the language L1 and W2 from the language L2;
- a borrowed word W2 and its source W1: W1 from the language L1 (donor) and W2 from the language L2 (target)

(We use English “labels” ярлыки for the shift name. This decision was made to reduce ambiguities).

What do we have from Lithuanian? Only a bit, unfortunately.

Some shifts we do have in our database. For example, to give -> to forgive. But only few.

(добавляем литовское значение heart -> location of emotions).

Problems of our approach:

- 1) semantic generality: hand /arm ~ рука.
- 2) Another difficult point is a direction of a shift.
  - a. Old Eng *steorfan* ‘to die’ → Eng. *starve* ‘to die from hunger’.
  - b. Modern Rus косо́й ‘a hare’ is perceived as a polysemy with “strabismus, squint person”, as a hare has strabismus. But actually it’s more possible a descendant from Indo-European ‘hare’ \*kās- / \*kōs- (Slav. ?\*кось, Sanscrit śaśá, Old H-Germ *haso*), and coincidence with косо́й ‘косоглазы́й’ is an accident.

I will mention also some related projects, such as:

DECOLAR

(Dictionnaire étymologique et cognitive des langues romanes: <http://www.decolar.uni-tuebingen.de/>)

CLICS 2.0

List, Johann-Mattis, Thomas Mayer, Anselm Terhalle, and Matthias Urban (2014) CLICS: Database of Cross-Linguistic Colexifications. Marburg: Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas (Version 1.0, online available at <http://CLICS.lingpy.org/>).

CLICS<sup>2</sup> is an online database of colexifications (polysemies or homophonies) in currently 1220 language varieties of the world. <https://clics.clld.org/>

COLEX – database by Alex Francois

## Part 2.

Now, in the remaining time we switch to the part 2.

My field of investigation in our project is the field of kinship terms (further I will say “KT”) in Dravidian languages. Dravidian languages – are here on the map – are languages spoken in India, mainly in the southern part of it.

[map]

Look at the map.

Here the majority of Dravidian languages are situated, in the South. Here is Tamil, the language that is primary subject of my study. It's one of main Dravidian languages with long history. Tamil is actually (though not everyone is aware of it) is one of **top twenty** most popular languages in the world with the number of speakers more than **70 mln** and written language history dating back to the earliest stone inscriptions of around **2-3 century BC** (before Christ).

Other languages of this presentation will be Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, and northern Dravidian Kurukh, and the very Northern – Brahui, spoken also in Pakistan and Afganistan.

Dravidian kinship system differs from modern European systems.

While modern European K systems are mainly of linear type (anthropologically), Dravidian systems are bifurcative-merging. It means that they differentiate father and uncle (bifurcative), but merge one of uncles – father's brother – with father.

One of its main features is the tradition of cross-cousin marriage. It means, there is a tradition to marry a son (or a daughter) of your mother's brother. (That means "cross", cross-cousin, unlike parallel cousins – children of father's brother or mother's sister).

So, let us look at the semantic shifts with the source meaning "father".

In our database there are several shifts with this meaning.

**(картинка).**

Here, we can see that some of them connect meaning "father" with meanings of the same semantic field (father and father's brother, for example).

Some of shifts connect the meaning "father" with meanings of other semantic fields: as father – main, father – God , ...

**(discussion)**

And here, also, we find **one interesting semantic shift** – from Kinship term to an interjection.

**I was interested in this shift and I searched for** examples of it in different Dravidian languages.

I found it in:

Tamil.

I found it in Telugu.

Realized in the lexemes... as a derivation. And in polysemy of lexemes ...

I found it in Kannada.

I found the same shift in Malayalam.

I tried to find it in Northern Dravidian languages, but the situation there was some kind of difficult.

Homonymy? the author of the "Brahui Etymological Dictionary" sir Denys Bray argues that the first meaning is of Dravidian origin (compare гонд. *marri*, куй *mṛī*, там, мал, кан. *maṛī*, түл. *mari* 'детеныш животных', кан. также 'ребенок'), while the second of Indo-Aryan origin (jatki-panjabi-sindhi)

Homonymy? автор "Этимологического словаря брахуи" возводит первое значение к дравидийским, а второе к индоарийским корням: *mār 1* он сравнивает с гонд. *marri*, куй *mṛī*,

там, мал, кан. *marī*, тул. *marī* 'детеныш животных', кан. также 'ребенок'; тогда как значение *mar 2* автор сопоставляет с джатки (панджаби), синдхи *mār*. ?

The structure of these languages changed so much, even the lexicon is to the most part (по большей части) changed. Especially in Brahui, where there are a lot of borrowings from Indo-Ariyan and Indo-Iranian languages, and the percentage of lexica of Dravidian origin is approximately 10%.

In these languages I didn't find this semantic shift.

Only one interesting case in Brahui: the combination of meanings "... Possibly can be traced to the situation ...

[We call it semantic parallel in historical linguistics, if you remember from the first part of my presentation.]

So, we can say, that this shift is often in Dravidian languages. But is it often somewhere else? Is it universal, possibly?

It appears that this semantic shift is common in Russian.

Derivative "batushki" from "batya" = "father" can be used as an interjection of ...

But the meaning is a bit **old-fashioned**.

Derivative "mamochki" or often, "Oj, mamochki!" is modern. It's an interjection of strong emotion, going along with unexpected event. It is so common in Russian, that there are two movies with the title "Oj, mamochki!", both exploring (развивающий) the idea of an unexpected pregnancy.

But nevertheless, though (хотя) this shift is common in Russian and Dravidian, it's almost absent in European languages, at least according to dictionaries.

There are no such shift in English.

Instead of this, ...

No such shift in French.

No such shift in German.

There is such shift in Spanish.

Problems.

What problems do we have with such approach?

We depend on dictionaries. And dictionaries are written in different lexicography traditions. It is especially important with interjections. Because, in some lexicography traditions of the past, interjection considered not, to be a part of language.

The opinion was: "Lexicon finishes there where interjections start" (Maizel?)

So we should make field investigation, we should ask people. To assure our results.

Well, I asked people, but interjections did not appear.

There are no such interjections in French, English, Latvian and...

So, we should agree, that we were wrong. This semantic shift being so common in India, is not a universal one. It is restricted to Indian peninsula.

(pict?)

And maybe to some other parts (or language families ) of the world. That is a theme of further investigation.

So, conclusion. My story was about the Catalogue of semantic shifts in languages of the world. I told you about the notion “semantic shift”, about different approaches and our Database. Main object of this alk was the semantic shift from kinship terms to emotive interjections. We found it not to be universal, but restricted, at least to Indian languages (we don’t know yet to which else).

And my aim is to teach (призвать) you to use our Database of semantic shifts. Despite of linguistic theory you follow **(независимо от теории/ independent from the theory)**, you may visit our page sometimes, add one or two shifts and thus help the history of conceptual relations, of semantic shifts, to be discovered.

Here is the list of key references.

Thank you for your attention!